

225 tight and the free end tied to the outrigger. As long as the turtle is attached to the outrigger, it will not sound. The fisherman waits for a canoe from shore. The turtle is lifted into the canoe and taken ashore.

753 In both these methods great care is taken to prevent the penis tail of the male
825 turtle from locking the fisherman's leg against the carapace. Once this is done, the grip is viselike; the turtle sounds, drowning the fisherman. The tail is also a formidable weapon. If it pierces the body of the fisherman, priapism and death are extremely likely. The male turtle is much more difficult to catch than the female.

225 3. *Wali wawa*, turning over the female turtle on the beach. The turtle-laying
825 season begins with the morning rising of the Pleiades and continues until their evening rising. Only the two green turtles lay eggs on Pukapukan beaches. The fisherman goes to the outer beaches and watches for turtle tracks or turtle nests in the sand. When he finds a nest, he counts the eggs. It is believed that the female turtle returns to her nest after a given number of days depending on the number of eggs in the nest. Thus if there are 120 eggs or more in the nest, she is expected to return in 8 nights to lay again; if there are 100 eggs, she will return in 10 nights; if there are 80 eggs, in 11 or 12 nights; if 60 eggs, in 14 nights. The outer beach is then watched on the appropriate night at the full of the tide. When the female turtle comes ashore, she is turned over on her back and rendered helpless.

225 Formerly all turtles were taken to the meeting place of the old men and there the
262 meat, fat, eggs, and shell were divided among the people of the island. The man who caught the turtle was given its head besides his share of the flesh. For the old men were reserved the belly fats (*pukualongo*) and the major internal organs (*apahou mohe*). It was taboo for any others but old men to eat these parts on pain of sickness and grey hair. The custom of dividing a turtle among all members of the community survives today.

OCTOPUS AND CRAYFISH

226 The Pukapukan lives on other creatures of the sea or reef besides fish to provide him with food. The long-tentacled octopus (*waka maketu loa*) and the short-tentacled octopus (*waka maketu poto*) are caught for bait, but they are not eaten.

Formerly they were speared or fished with line and hook. Today a common way to catch them is to throw several handfuls of coral lime (*puaga*) into an octopus hole. The lime dissolves and causes the animal to emerge, when it is speared or grasped with the hands. Squid (*waka*) is eaten and used as bait. It is speared or caught with a hook.

Saltwater crayfish (*ala*) live in communities in large holes in the reef. Knowledge of these holes is kept secret by those fortunate enough to know them. One who knows where they are can pick out a crayfish from his hole at any time; others fish for *ala* in any likely hole on the reef shelf.

The best time for finding crayfish is on the first three nights of the new moon after moonset. Using a torch, a man visits holes of the reefs and picks out the *ala* with his hands (*talas ala* or *lungo ala*). Crayfish are caught also during the nights of the full moon at high tide. They are sometimes caught in torch fishing (*lomaloma*) or in seine setting at dusk. A final method is to fish for them in holes, with a rod, a single-piece barbed hook, *salomou* bait, and plenty of clam.

605

visits at the house of Ella and Moling. Ella's wife visits with Vet. Neither Ella nor Loton visits the opposite house, even when he knows the male *ata* is absent, through fear of inadvertently touching objects belonging to the other. All communication between the two is carried on through a third person.

605

The resident agent remarks on the difficulty of court work when *male atas* are involved in a case. Neither *male atas* will appear in court to act as witness or plaintiff but insists on sending a proxy. If the agent insists that both *male atas* shall be present in his court, they turn their backs on each other, keep as far apart as possible, and direct all questions to each other through intermediaries.

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The intense rage that exists between *male atas* relatives is supported by the cultural fiction that they are potentially and actually more interested in each other emotionally than in other members of the opposite sex:

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Sometimes in spite of the rage *male atas* become so charmed as to encourage an emotional attraction. Formerly, where this actually happened and was discovered, the couple were rendered outcasts by their families, who prayed to their family gods to punish with sickness the terrible sin. The common punishment asked for was filarial infection of the two *male atas* and their descendants for ever and ever. Some informants tried to take the incidence of filaria today as due to forgotten or half-forgotten *male atas* intent in the families of those affected. One well-remembered case is that of Pohna who married his *male atas*, Weston, just after the mission was established. Husband and wife, their twelve children, and numerous grandchildren all suffered and continue to suffer to this day from filarial infection. One old man, a good Christian, calmly assured me that his filaria was due to the fact that his first wife was his *male atas*, whom he married in an excess of Christian zeal with an idea of proving that old tales were worthless. He expressed no regret at his hasty action.

[171]

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The attraction of *male atas* for each other is emotional, many times in the old love dream (*hupa*), many of which seem to have their origin either in a hopeless or in a unrequited affection of one *male atas* for another. When asked for rationalizations for the *male atas* rage, informants could only quote the two following sections from *hupa*. The rationalization is obscure and can not now be clarified, but there is no mistaking the intensity of emotion that finds expression:

Ma Monilla has, he tells us

To make me his partner

What can I do, he tells me

He says I must be strong

He says I must be strong

He says I must be strong

He says I must be strong

He says I must be strong

He says I must be strong

He says I must be strong

He says I must be strong

He says I must be strong

He says I must be strong

He says I must be strong

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He says I must be strong

He says I must be strong

He says I must be strong

He says I must be strong

He says I must be strong

You are Monilla (the Finician), I am Taka

(Orion)

(We lived) like two brothers together like the

stars (stars)

There is no, on my *male atas*

You are strong, you are the *hupa* place

(For which) my heart has longed

(When I am you) my *male atas* like the

hanging (hanging) of the night winds

The second chant reads:

He who has the old of me

He who has the old of me

He who has the old of me

He who has the old of me

He who has the old of me

He who has the old of me

He who has the old of me

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He who has the old of me

He who has the old of me

I had found my *male atas* (see my *male atas*),

The two have come (happened to me) and made

for my *male atas*

Dead in my heart (with death)

I go to my *male atas* and

With my *male atas* for you

Unmistakable in the *hupa* of my heart,

(I am) *hupa* (by R) as where you sit,

I return *hupa* (this place) to the *male atas*,

You turn to me that we may talk,

I hide our secret understanding; we shall have

interviews, when's that?

602 The consciousness of the breaking of a tapu is clear from the man's remark in this
835 about that his love for his male mate is *hai lunanga* (food of shameful abnormality)
and, further, *hai anelanga* (incest).
No reference to male mates incest is found in any of the myths or folktales recorded.

182 The kinship tapus are best preserved today among the older people.
602 Among the younger generations, several male mates have married:

538 In one such marriage, the husband had to trick his protesting relatives by being
177 secretly married. This was only possible because the Cook Islands Act allows male mates
to marry, and the resident agent had to perform the civil rite. Another marriage occurred
just before we left Pukapuka. The bride's mother's brother refused to attend the mar-
riage or to have anything further to do with his classificatory daughter. The groom's
father at first objected because he feared the marriage would be sterile, probably owing
to the breaking of the tapu, and his descent line depended on issue to the marriage. His
fear was increased by the fact that though his son had been courting the bride for sev-
eral years, no child had been born. The father finally yielded to the entreaties of
matrimony friends. Witnesses predict that the marriage will be sterile, which is the
very best that can be hoped for, apart altogether from violations of sickness.

602 No purpose is served by traversing at this stage the actual functioning of
the kinship system. It presents no features that call for special comment.
Economic obligations associated with kinship relationships are discussed
elsewhere. Similarly the importance of the kinship group in personal cere-
monial is mentioned in the description of rites at birth, marriage, and death.

THE LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH

CONCEPTION

842 Conception is known as *te mahakihinga o te tamu* (the placing in of the
child). The period of gestation is called *te mahakihinga* or *te ihonga*. The
primary meaning of the word *ike* is "to germinate" as in the sentence: "*Ko
te nima ko ike ai te tamu*" (it is the semen which makes the child germinate).
The following is a typical explanation of conception given by a woman
informant:

842 Conception involves an organ (*mama*) in both the male and female (*mama* is given
elsewhere as meaning "lung"). The male secretion enters the female *mama*, the female
secretion enters the male *mama*. The informant was unable to specify the exact location
831 of this organ, though she thought the native practitioners would know. On being
753 pressed to indicate the locus of the *mama* in her own body, she pointed to her stomach
833 and said the *mama* was close to it. She knew that it is the semen that germinates the
ovum, but could give no rationalization as to the method. She also said that it is the
semen which generates the male and female secretions, and should this organ dry up, as
it often does, then the person affected becomes thin and sickly, suffering from debility.
This is a common disease in Pukapuka according to informant, one cause of which is too
frequent copulation. Five or six times in succession on the same day or night, infor-
mant explained, would be too frequent.

842 The theory of conception was discussed with Pau, a native medicine man. His
theory is that the semen of the man coagulates the blood in the uterus of the woman. This

843 cause of the sickness, but the sickness itself is proof positive of the pregnancy.

The parents may continue to have intercourse right up to the time the child is delivered, without causing any injurious effects either to mother or child. No new position is adopted in intercourse, but the husband takes care to lighten his weight (*makomoma*) on the woman as much as possible.

Many tapus are observed by the pregnant woman. When she becomes pregnant for the first time, her mother or other female relative warns her about the various restrictions: "Obey these and your child will be born well and in good health; disobey them and you will have a hard labor and the child will be physically disfigured or a weakling." Inadvertence or lack of knowledge is no excuse for the breaking of these tapus. Only rarely could violations be set right by special intercessions directed to the goddess Tana.

[m] The following behavior tapus do not greatly restrict the everyday activities of the pregnant woman:

A pregnant woman may not spit out in quick succession any food, fish bones, or indigestible food scraps. If she does, her child will be born with a mouth that is constantly drooling and dribbling saliva. If she needs to clear her mouth she must expectorate vigorously once and once only. A pregnant woman must not work in the tale fields, not because of possible injury to the child, but because it is likely to cause hemorrhage at delivery. This tapu is rarely observed today. A pregnant woman should not adorn herself with wreaths (*ywi*), decorative kilt, or other ornaments that are wound around the body. If she does, her child will be born with the umbilical cord twisted round its neck, and as likely as not choked to death. A pregnant woman may not wind up husks of fishline, or skein of any sort, nor may she wring out coconut crests, wrap dyer, or clothes after washing, nor may she have anything to do with twisted materials of any nature lest her child have its cord twisted about its neck. Mat making is not fraught with any harmful consequences, provided the woman does not roll her plucking materials in the first place. If a woman quarrels with her husband, she will have a miscarriage, or else her child, when born, will be troublesome and hard to manage.

843 A woman who dislikes her favorite foods during pregnancy and longs for special dishes such as nuts with sweet husks, pandanus leaves, flying fish, or 261 *Tridacna* shellfish, may safely indulge her tastes provided she does not eat the following foods which will have disastrous results:

Eating heron crab meat gives her child crooked legs; eating type crab meat gives her child bow legs. The body of the *kuiper* crab may be eaten, but not the legs. Again, eating the abdomen of the heron crab results in red testicles in the male child or large red *labia majora* in the female child. Eating fish caught by spearing produces little rock marks or abscesses on the skin of the child. The fact that husbands are not careful about the way they kill fish is given as the reason for the wide prevalence today of chronic skin sores on many babies. These sores break out on the child in places corresponding to the places where the barb of the spear entered the skin of the fish. The pregnant woman may not eat any fish killed by a thrown stone or club, lest her child have a bad, injured foot or be born with the back of its skull soft and squashed in. Whether the fish is killed by her husband, by male relatives, or by unrelated men makes no difference to the incidence of the result. Hence a woman must be careful of the food she eats from a food division or feast.

831 person to another in sexual intercourse. If a sick woman has intercourse
 753 with a man she gives him her sickness because, in native theory, her secretions
 839 (sue wu) enter into his internal organs by absorption through the penis. Diseases that are spread in this way are mainly swelling in various parts of the body, but pains in the stomach and other minor ailments may also be communicated. A married couple with children rarely have intercourse within the sleeping house, not because they object to the children's seeing them, but because of the danger in possible contact of the child with secretions on mats, which would give the child illness and limb swelling.

834 Various terms are applied to individuals who show peculiarities in sexual behavior. An impotent individual is a *tangata malueke*, which also means a person lazy or slow in economic activities. A man who changes mistresses frequently is a *tangata maka wawine* (thrower away of women). It is said of him: "I te wakapau wawine" (He is a woman waster or finisher). An over-sexed man or woman is *nio toto* (bloody teeth) or *kai vaka* (canoe eater). Of the promiscuous (*wis eia*) woman it is said: "Ko tuku wua i toa wu yaka yua" (She places her vagina at anyone's disposal to be poured into). A husbandless woman who runs after married men is *lakou taetae* (stick or penis gatherer). A man or woman who settles down after a period of freedom to a monogamous existence is described as *na win* (having had enough).

839 Perversions, in the sense of sexual practices that take the place of sexual intercourse, are probably unknown in Pukapuka. This is without prejudice to acts or feeling attitudes that may accompany ontogenetic character development in the strict analytic sense but which, even if they occur, may not

838 properly be classed as perversions. There is no word in Pukapukan speech
 159 to indicate homosexuality, nor could informants say that it ever occurred. At present there is one youth in Yato village who is said to *uakawawine* (be like a woman):

[521]
 [161] Between 16 and 17 years old, he appears fully developed physically but has a rather effeminate high-pitched voice. He wears men's clothes. He does not stroll about the village as do other young men who congregate first in one open house, then in another, for gossip. He keeps very much to his own house lot, where he is often in the company of women. He performs general women's work, makes plaited and beaded objects, sews more than is usual for a male, and cooks. He also does a little men's work, fishing, net gathering and husking, and seam making. He occasionally wrestles with other men but does not participate in most sports. Peculiarities in his behavior are noticed by fellow villagers but not commented upon openly. He still attends school and is popular with his schoolmates. He showed the greatest possible reserve in our presence and we were unable to become friendly with him.

832 There is no evidence of the use of love magic. Informants with whom the matter was discussed thought the idea absurd. Their attitude was that
 833 it was not difficult for any man to secure a mistress; there was then no use for special magical techniques. With their concept of sex as a play activity,

587 services. Today an intermediary is looked upon by stricter parents with
 836 scorn as one who aids and abets intrigues, but there is no reason to assume
 431 that he was similarly regarded in former times. The gifts exchanged be-
 753 tween lovers are *tapu*, to be used by the lovers alone. Another who wittingly
 837 or unwittingly wore *wakatapu* clothes or ate *wakatapu* food would be com-
 753 mitting a disgraceful act (*luma*) termed *kai wakatapu*. The punishment for
 164 breaking this *tapu* is boils on the body and swellings over the eyes. Thus
 if the father of a family commits adultery and receives gifts of food from
 his mistress which he allows his children to eat, his children will suffer from
 sickness. Informants suggested that this is a good explanation for the inci-
 dence of hereditary ulcers and swellings that seem to visit successive genera-
 tions of certain Pukapukan families, though they were unable to rationalize
 the fact that the gifts were dangerous to outsiders in the first instance.

MARRIAGE

595 Monogamy is the rule in marriage. In those exceptional cases of con-
 577 temporary sororate or levirate, only the sibling with whom a person first
 lived was considered the married mate. Of the plural wives of individual
 men in the genealogies, informants stated that they were successive. Only
 one story collected concerns a polygamous man of Pukapuka (1). As divorce
 was easily achieved, the stimulus to polygamy which might otherwise have
 come from the desire for issue was not great, nor was the status of chiefs
 sufficiently elevated to provide an economic incentive for polygamy.

582 The paternal lineage (*po*) and sub-lineage (*wakavae*) are nominally
 613 neither endogamous nor exogamic. (See table 8.) Closeness of blood re-
 lationship, which depends on the numerical size of the lineage, is the limiting
 factor in intra-lineage marriage.

Table 8. Inter-marriage Between Paternal Lineages^a

	NGAKE		LOTO		YATO		Yama- nga
	Matsaga	Maliwara	Yanga- lipule	iTua	Yalongo	Yapi	
Matsaga, Ngage	9	5	2	6	1	—	—
Maliwara, Ngage	4	—	3	5	—	1	—
Yangelipule, Loto	1	—	—	—	—	1	—
iTua, Loto	5	1	2	1	—	—	—
Yalongo, Yato	—	—	3	—	—	4	—
Yapi, Yato	5	2	2	4	2	3	—
Yamanga, Yato	1	1	—	—	—	1	—

^a Table 8 shows the amount of inter- and intra-lineage marriages in households which came within the census. The boxes indicate inter-marriage between the paternal lineages of each village.

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114 that is, gods whose names are remembered today. In addition a host of minor gods, attendant spirits, and servant gods of the major gods were recognized.

Stimson (25.p.101), without quoting authority, gives Kio as the name of a Pukapukan god and suggests that this god is related to the Mangaian god Tanekio (Tane-the-chirper). Repeated inquiry failed to reveal the slightest knowledge of such a god. The only meaning given for the Pukapukan word *lio* is as the name of the children's game. Possible Pukapukan dialectical cognates of *kio*, which would be *kioo* or *kiyo*, are unknown to informants.

PRINCIPAL GOD

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562 Mataliki, the major god of i Tua lineage, was the great god of the atoll in the sense that the chief of i Tua lineage was the supreme chief of the island. He was a sort of state god. There is no evidence to suggest that he was in any way supreme over the other gods, that he controlled them spiritually, or was the head of the Pukapukan pantheon. He was simply major god of island affairs, leaving each of the other lineage gods supreme in lineage affairs. In general, Mataliki is the supreme god of male things in Pukapuka, and men claim him as their special protector, referring to the members of their sex as *te manu o Mataliki* (the birds of Mataliki). At one time it was *tapu* for women to go to the reserves because they were under the control of Mataliki. No women except the sacred maid were allowed to enter either a fishing or voyaging canoe. The saying is, "Te manu a Mataliki, ka wo ki te moana, te manu a Tausa nono ai i lunga a te wenua" (The bird—man—of Mataliki goes on the sea, the bird—woman—of Tausa stays on land).

Besides his duties as a god of i Tua, Mataliki implemented the secular control over village lands. If a man went to the reserve to steal, Mataliki shouted a warning to him as he started to climb a tree. If the thief persisted, then the next time he went fishing, Mataliki sent a shark to swim around his canoe and frighten him or a big wave to swamp the canoe. Mataliki also cared for the morals of voyaging Pukapukans (p. 401). For the origin of Mataliki and other gods, see page 375.

Gods of Paternal Lineages

[753] Tausa, also god of i Tua, was the special guardian of women. Women are referred to as *te manu o Tausa* (birds of Tausa). Thus, no man would dare touch a woman in a brawl or quarrel because Tausa would punish him by afflicting him with a big tumor under the armpit. Though her powers were great, Tausa was never elevated from her position as goddess of i Tua to the high status accorded Mataliki—possibly because she was a female god. Tausa prevented anyone's eating or using as implements parts of the

776 lineages. It is likely, I think, that people of Ngake inter-marrying into Yato
613 transferred their affection for Te Maungata to Yato villagers, and that this
god gradually assumed a position of major importance for Yato lineages.
Te Alongaoa, another Ngake god worshiped by even of Yato, may have been
transferred to a village not his home village by the same method.

776 A second important duty of the attendant gods was to form a permanent
241 guard for the reserve lands. Whereas the major gods came to the reserves
only when trouble arose, the attendants were on perpetual sentry duty and
handled all smaller infractions of tapu on their own responsibility. The
names of the groups of attendants for the various reserves are:

RESERVE	ATTENDANTS
Te Lau-loia-o-Mataliki (Uta).	Te Malanga Atua Ya.
Te Nui-lu-o-Mataliki (Moto Ko).	Te Maungata.
Te Nuku-ya-o-Mataliki (Moto Kotawa).	Na Tualiki.
Te Niu-ya-o-Mataliki (Niu).	Na Westini.

The relation of the attendants to the reserves is evidenced by the example of Te Malanga Atua. These spirits lived in Uta all the time. Whenever anyone went to the reserve for illicit purposes, the attendants warned the intruder before he committed his illegal act; then if he persisted, they plagued him with threats. On certain regular nights of the moon, the Malanga Atua gathered together (*wahamalanga*) and visited in turn all the cemeteries in Wale, singing and dancing together at each cemetery. Sometimes they also visited humans in dreams. Through these visits and the noise of their ghostly merrymaking, humans knew that they were on watch.

776 Tapuaki was the name of one individual attendant god, who was the
828 servant of Tama and who punished violations of the tapus of Uta with incur-
533 able debility. Under another guise Tapuaki was a mischievous spirit who
526 promoted illicit sexual relations. Of a man well known for his sexual adventures, the people say, "E tangata la no Tapuaki" (He is a man of Tapuaki). Tapuaki caused jealousy in women over extra-marital relations of their husbands. He also caused nightmares by coming to a man or woman in sleep, twisting him up in the typical nightmare of constriction. In another phase of this spirit's duties, a man who wished to win at a spear-throwing contest threw a flower to the god at the place where he was traditionally supposed to live, close by the cemetery of i Tui. It was thought that Tapuaki made the opponent lose his aim by causing jealous thoughts in his mind at a critical moment.

776 The *tihitiki* attendants of the major gods seem to have been small animals
773 such as birds. Thus in the story of the woman-seducing contest between Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyu, Te Awuawu won because of the power of his *tihitiki*, a small bird. After the contest was over he loaned the *tihitiki* to Ngaliyeyu to enable him to seduce Mutitanyakana, a difficult woman of surpassing

757 and then allowed to lie about until they are needed as waste cloth. The soiled sleeping
 752 mats of adults may never be used by children, lest they be made sick by contact with
 352 the stains. There is no other precaution adopted about sleeping mats or sitting mats;
 these are used by members of the household or visitors.

GHOSTS

775 The fear of ghosts (*aitu*, old term; *yitolo*, modern term) is all-pervading
 753 in Pukapuka. Not only children, who are brought up with a fear of ghosts,
 but adults also are thoroughly afraid of them and their power. Children
 are never left alone in the night lest ghosts worry them. In times of sickness,
 ghosts are supposed to be particularly troublesome, and it is necessary at
 these times to be especially careful of the well-being of ailing children, who
 are not left unguarded even during the day. Ghosts are believed to cause
 sickness.

SICKNESS AND HYGIENE

IDEOLOGY

753 The Pukapukan had no conception of the physical causation of sickness
 577 or physical disability, unrelated to immoral, sacrilegious, or antisocial beha-
 784 vior of the afflicted individual or his relatives. Sickness was sent by gods
 or by malicious spirits (*aitu*), in order to punish or revenge the breaking of
 a tapu, or other antisocial behavior. Punishment by sickness was considered
 perfectly just, even though the sick person had himself committed no infrac-
 tion of tapu; all the members of the guilty one's family or household group
 were jointly responsible.

Types of antisocial behavior punished by sickness were infractions of the
 following: economic tapus, through non-observance or stealing; rules gov-
 erning the disposal of property at death or general economic contracts; rules
 governing the treatment of wife, children, relatives, and old people; sexual
 tapus, committing of incest, adultery; obligations based on kinship or friend-
 ship relations; and tapus on religious or ceremonial objects and structures.
 761 Deaths caused by suicide or homicide, or resulting from injuries received in
 784 homicidal encounters were the only ones for which a material cause, unaf-
 fected by spiritual interference, was recognized. Even here, however, a
 closer analysis would probably show that death or injury was due to the
 withdrawal of protection by the god from one of his worshipers because the
 worshiper had at some time violated rules.

752 Sickness in general was *maki atus* (god-sent sickness). Special names
 for types of sickness sent by gods, were: *maki hai kiko*, sickness caused by
 753 incest; *maki atus kimo*, sickness caused by ancestral spirits. No single word
 applies to accidental injury, which is given a descriptive term, as *maki no te*
 776 *yawanga o te atus ki kelo*, sickness resulting from a fall from a tree caused
 by a god.

753 The treatment of tapu-breaking by the god Te Mangamanga was various: theft of *ngangis* wood, talo, or nuts in his province, Te Mangamanga punished by closing the thief's ears, causing deafness and earache; or by blocking up the bowels, causing constipation and intense internal pain; or by stopping the flow of urine, causing death. Te Mangamanga entered the stomach of a person who ate an unauthorized nut, along with the nut flesh, and ate all the food in his stomach so that the culprit suffered from a perpetual hunger that nothing could satisfy. If a man passed the outer beach of Niua taking a short cut, then Te Mangamanga made his ears stiff and large or soft and crinkly, so that they flopped over the ear hole and blocked the sound.

776 Gods might send familiar spirits to cause sickness, or they might insert alien substances or animals into the body. Familiar, foreign, or malicious spirits that cause sickness by plaguing the body are *aitu tutukoa* or *aitu kuku*. They come to a victim at night, embrace him with their arms, and cause strangling, nightmares, physical injuries, occasionally also conception in women.

753 Disease-causing objects are called simply *mau wakaalia*, horrible things. Any of the following might serve as such an object:

Wameuane, anything twisted, bumpy, or imperfect; *nimo*, anything tangled; *tono*, a sea porcupine; *loli*, bêche de mer; *kalamea*, species of sea anemone; *matua kalou*, variety of sea cucumber; *kalou*, eel; *weks*, octopus; *sluyino*, sea porcupine; *sluyele*, variety of star fish; *unakoa*, univalve shell; *hamu*, another univalve shell; *kana*, a seaweed; *pupu-kawa*, a rank seaweed; *pikipiki*, dried coconut husks; *unga*, hermit crab; *kaipa*, a crab; *kaoua*, a robber crab; *kalami*, white crab; *popolonga*, cockroach; *molokan*, millipede; *veli*, centipede; in general, all the different animals and objects of land and sea that bite, snap, prick or are twisted.

MEDICINE MEN

757 Sickness was treated by medical practitioners known as *tangata yila*, *tangata wotu*, and *tangata yivayiva*. The *tangata wotu* or *tangata yivayiva* was a person expert both in diagnosis and especially in massage and treatment. 759 The *tangata yila* not only possessed those powers, but also was able, by virtue of special gifts, to seek out, see, and kill familiar spirits, invisible to the ordinary eye. A few women practiced medicine; their functions did not differ from those of their male colleagues. *Wotu* of both sexes were general practitioners; there was little specialization, save in terms of specific dream experience.

All medicine men derived their powers from their possession of *mangamau*, best defined as extraordinary ability or skill possessed by a chief, warrior, priest, or seer because of his specific association with a god or a familiar spirit. The Pukapukan word *mana* is applied only to a popgun. The concept of tapu is expressed by the word *ya*, that of freedom or commonness, by *tanga*.

The secrets of the profession of the medicine man (*wotu* or *yila*) were

755 sounding (*lupe*) ritual, or by the continuous chanting of songs. When he felt the god within him, the medicine man in his trance state told the god of the sickness; in answer, the god told him the cause and the treatment to be followed. The medicine man then took steps to treat the sickness.

787
— A typical case of sickness caused by the direct intervention of a god was given by Pau:

755 A man, Y, injures me in some way or other, whether physically or mentally as by ridicule. Wishing to avenge myself, I consult a god of my lineage. If the injury is trifling and the desired revenge slight, I speak to the god anywhere; if the injury is serious, I ask a priest to intercede for me, or if I am a priest, I intercede for myself. According as he views the matter, the god will listen to my request and send or not send sickness. If the god decides to make Y sick, he himself or one of his attendant spirits obtains a disease object, which he causes to be inserted in the body of Y, either through the mouth or the anus. The introduction of this foreign body causes sickness by twisting up, gnawing at, or sticking into, vital organs. Y now falls sick, and calls into consultation a medicine man, who, after a digital exploration of the parts affected, diagnoses the trouble. The medicine man consults the god of his lineage, and procures instructions for removing the foreign body from the patient. With his fingers he squeezes the patient's body and draws out the foreign object. He keeps his hand closed, lest the object try to escape back into the body, but the patient's relatives gather round and feel the hand of the medicine man so as to be assured that the object is really inside it. Then he crushes the disease object and throws it into the fire, so killing the spirit that entered into the object within the patient. Y should now get well.

753 Y may or may not know the reason for his sickness, but informant was positive that Y would not attempt counter revenge without great provocation. The best technique for Y to employ is to pray to his god for extra protection in future. If Y was made sick on subsequent occasions or if he died from sickness, then provocation would be sufficient for his relatives to pray for the punishment of the offender.

753 The cultural theory was that a man should not dare to intercede with his god to revenge a sickness without real provocation. One who did so on a slight pretext was termed *tangata lepu atua* (one who violated the sanctity of the god). The god was thought to become angry when called to attend to matters beneath his dignity; he might well become so angry as to send sickness to the *tangata lepu atua* instead of the desired victim.

775 A malicious spirit (*oitu*) who inflicted disease on a living person to avenge injury received during life, usually to revenge himself on relatives who had neglected him in his old age, stolen his nuts, given him inadequate food, ill treated him, or neglected to bury with him his valuable fishhooks or ornaments, acted in the following way:

753 The spirit carried a disease object to the body of a relative or enemy, so causing the illness of which he had himself died—a diagnostic point of importance for the medicine man. When the patient consulted the medicine man he inquired whether anyone had recently died of the same disease from which the patient suffered. If so, there was strong presumption that the deceased's spirit was causing the trouble.

The method of treatment was the one already described, with the following variations:

755 On being consulted, the god searched for the presumed sickness-causing spirit, which he showed to the medicine man, asking whether the sickness from which the spirit suffered was the same as that of the patient. Receiving an affirmative answer, the god held the spirit fast while the medicine man beat it to death. The communication over, the medicine man explained matters to the patient and withdrew the foreign thing from his body. The patient recovered with the knowledge that he would never again be troubled by that spirit.

755 The seer Levi had a great reputation as a killer of spirits. The story of Yawani illustrates his powers:

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773 Yawani was a man from Tongareva who lived in Pukapuka at the time of the early missionaries. When a female friend of his wife died, Yawani sought permission from the pastor to bury her in Tongarevan fashion, in a boxlike stone grave above ground instead of underground in the Pukapukan manner. The pastor refused permission and insulted Yawani. Some days later Yawani went to Motu Ko to cut down a tree for a canoe. The branch he was cutting broke suddenly; a sharp point entered his body and disemboweled him. He died of his injuries. His soul began to wander over the island trying to cause sickness.

Once when the people were sailing across the lagoon to Motu Ko, they saw a ripple of water (*pipi te yuo*) going in front of the canoe. Levi, who was on one of the canoes, said that he could see in the ripple the soul of Yawani. Soon after this the pastor's wife became sick. The pastor was convinced that it was the spirit of Yawani causing the sickness. Prayer was of no avail, so the people asked Levi to deal with the *aitu*. Some time later Levi was looking over the lagoon when he recognized the soul of Yawani moving along the reef from Kotawa to Yato. Levi performed the pigeon (*lupe*) ritual and called on his gods to help him wrestle with the spirit. By the time it had reached the causeway, Levi's gods had rallied to his aid. The gods surrounded the *aitu* so it could not escape; Levi rushed at it with a stick and struck it several times. Some blood fell on the ground (and teeth and a head as well, say some!), and this was taken as a token that Levi had killed the spirit. Further proof was that the pastor's wife got well and the soul was never seen again.

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776 The third type of disease-causing spirit, spirits from a foreign land (*aitu tutukoo*, mischief-making spirits), specialized in causing epidemic diseases. They were not spirits of Pukapukan dead, but spirits of dead people in foreign lands or of foreign gods. Some say that these spirits came from islands to the east or west of Pukapuka and lit on the island out of pure mischief. Others believe they came with a canoe load of visitors or drift voyagers, and then attacked the Pukapukans, for the visitors were immune to their own gods. At any rate this was a point to be considered by the seer in diagnosing apparently epidemic diseases. All the seers consulted their gods on the sacred enclosures to learn whether the diagnosis of *aitu tutukoo* was correct. If the diagnosis was confirmed, one seer was chosen to deal with the spirits.

755 The seer communicated again with his god, who then accompanied him on a visit round Pukapuka. The god had with him his weapons: the lightning, the sun, the stars, the water. When the two came across a spirit, the god poured water about it so that it could not escape without being drowned, then blinded it with lightning, starlight, and sunlight. While the *aitu tutukoo* was thus helpless, the seer beat it with a stick until it was dead. The seer could then inform the people that the matter was over. If the disease did not immediately disappear, then other *aitu tutukoo* must be at large and the cure was continued until all were put out of the way.

- 539** E ulu kumala unu i te va
mai ngake
Ni atua tangaloa e yaya
E kilitia ngalo ko nuku
ngalo
Te uila e nunui i te kili
E kalipo kili e angalua
Tipu, unu i to ulu tuyi
Lele i to koi tapu o Moula
E taku ngaika kiliti i te nuku
wai ya
Tatapu ma o Ulutakapau
Ko no takuake e tama ya
Wuwulu mai na yamatangi
Na ola pe te wutu o Avayiki
Ya tulekina i te uluanga,
Na ola pe te lau o te Tatapu
Unu mai na pa koloa
Te tane o na nuku kokoa
- You are like the tops of kumala
leaves picked in eastern places
In our love, set apart and sacred
as gods of the Underworld
We will disappear like islands lost
in the sea.
Your skin is bright like constant
flashings of lightning,
A skin iridescent and flashing,
As of a delicious fish I cut and
remove your head
The colors of your skin run like
the tapu rainbow stripes of
Moula the god
You are my fish caught and pulled
up at the tapu islet of Ko
As sacred, you, as the worshipping
place of Ulutakapau (6)
Where you stay praying, you, the
holy one,
For you, I brushed aside the
entreaties of my lineage.
You grew like the wutu trees of the
land of Avayiki
Tall trees but stunted in their
branching,
You flourished like the leaves of
the tatapu tree.
I drew you safe from the enclosure
of the man-eating koloa bird (7)
You, o man of the legendary
mischievous islands to the
east (8)

6. A tapu place where the supreme chief of the island rested and consulted his gods.

7. The koloa bird was a man-eating demon killed by the culture hero Te Palo; see page 45.

[753] 8. Legendary lands to the east were thought to be inhabited by idle mischievous spirits who occasionally came to Pukapuka bringing with them epidemic sicknesses.